

AN
IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
INVASION
UNDER
WILLIAM Duke of NORMANDY,
And the CONSEQUENCES of it :
With proper REMARKS.

Humbly offered to the Consideration of the NOBILITY,
GENTRY, CLERGY and COMMONALTY of GREAT BRI-
TAIN, particularly to those of the County of NORFOLK.

By CHARLES PARKIN, A.M.
Rector of Oxburgh in Norfolk.

*Quare, patres Conscripti, consulite Vobis, Prospicite Patriæ, con-
servate Vos, Conjuges, Liberos, Fortunasque vestras, Populi Britan-
nici Nomen, Salutemque defendite, Cicer. Orat. in Catilin. 4.*

L O N D O N :

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AT this truly serious and critical Time, when our nearest and most inveterate Enemies the *French* threaten this Kingdom with a powerful *Invasion*, and boast of this their long premeditated Scheme, by their *Ambassadors* and *Envoyes* at every Court in *Europe*.

A Nation whom no sacred Oaths or Treaties can bind, a Nation whose Faith is become a *Proverb*, and equally stigmatized in this present Age, as that of the *Carthaginians* in former Ages. What honest and true *Briton* is there, having either Sword or Pen, that can sit passive and unactive, and not endeavour to animate all his Friends and Countrymen with a true Zeal, a manly Resolution and Spirit, to take a just and full Satisfaction for the many repeated Injuries that this Nation has suffered?

B

With

With this sole View and Intent, the Writer of this Pamphlet makes Choice of the Invasion of *William Duke of Normandy*, as a Subject highly proper and seasonable, to represent what must and will be the Consequences, if a true, universal *British* Spirit and Bravery, if a sincere Love for and Defence of our *King* and *Country* should now be wanting.

On the Death of King *Edward*, called the *Confessor*, who died on the Eve of the *Epiphany*, *January 5, 1066*, there were three *Competitors* for the *Crown of England*.

The first was *Edgar Atheling*, or *Prince Edward*, (Son of *Edward the Outlaw*, who was Son of King *Edmund Ironside*, the elder Brother of the *Confessor*); this Prince being Cousin and Heir to King *Edward* (who died without Issue) had on that account a very considerable Party in his Interest, but was at that Time a *Minor*.

The second *Competitor* was *Harold*, Earl of *Kent* and the *West-Saxons*, &c. Son of *Gadwin* Earl of *Kent*, &c. who being a Person of great Interest and Authority, a leading Man, and at the Head of the *English* Council, and knowing that Delay in this Case would prove dangerous, procured himself by a surprising Address, to be elected and crowned King, on the (a) *Festival* of the *Epiphany*, the Day after the Death of King *Edward*, and on the very Day whereon he was buried.

(a) *Chron. Saxon.* P. 172.

The third *Competitor* was *William* Duke of *Normandy* in *France*, natural Son of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*; his Claims and Pleas were—First, as a Relation to King *Edward*, but that was a Plea of little value or moment; *Emma* King *Edward*'s Mother, Daughter of *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, Wife of King *Etbeldred* of *England*, being his Aunt, so that he was no way descended from the Blood Royal of *England*.

—Another Claim and Plea was—That King *Edward* had promised him the Succession (b)—*William* a Monk of *Jumegies* in *Normandy* relates, that the aforesaid King first sent *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to give him Notice of his Intention, and afterwards sent *Harold* to do him Fealty concerning the Expectation of the Crown, and to confirm King *Edward*'s Grant by Oath.

But we are here to observe, that this Archbishop *Robert* was a *Norman*, and is said by Historians to be an absolute Creature of Duke *William* (c), to have laid the first Foundation of the *Norman* Conquest, and for his Plots and Contrivances fled from *England* to the Abbey of *Jumegies*, where he had been a Monk, and died there in Shame and Sorrow in 1052, having sat in the See of *Canterbury* scarce two Years. So that if King *Edward* had ever such a Design, it must have been many Years before his Death when his Mind was absolutely altered, as I shall show.

(b) *Gul. Genetic. de Ducibus Norm. L. 6. C. 31.*

(c) *Gulw. de præsul. Ang.*

(d) *William of Poitiers*, who was bred a Soldier, after was a Priest, and Chaplain to the Conqueror, agrees with *William of Jumièges*, and adds—That this was done by the Consent of King *Edward's* great Council; but no Credit can be given to this, as appears from their unanimous Consent and Agreement in an immediate Coronation of *Harold*; or they must also have changed their Minds, and come over to his Party and Interest.

And it is certain that King *Edward* actually sent into *Hungary* for his Nephew *Edward*, called the *Outlaw* (from his living there as a banished Man, for fear of King *Canute the Dane*) with a full Design of making him his Successor, and honourably entertained him. The *Saxon Chronology* says (e), that *Edward Atheling* came into *England* in 1057, and soon after died.

After his Death King *Edward* honoured his Son *Edgar* with his Father's Title of *Atheling*, or *Prince*, as Heir to the Crown; and we find him in the said Chronology, and by many Authors, called *Edgar Atheling*, and *Clito*.

But the Duke's principal Plea, and in particular against *Harold*, was, that Earl *Godwyne* (*Harold's* Father) being banished the Kingdom for his rebellious Practices, and not admitted to return without good Security for his future peaceable Behaviour; *Wolnoth*, one of his youngest Sons, and *Hacun* Son of *Swane* his eldest

(d) *Gul. Pictav. Fol. 181.*

(e) *P. 169.*

Son, being delivered up as Hostages to King *Edward* and sent into *Normandy*, there to be kept by Duke *William*, Earl *Harold*, after his Father's Death, entreating the *Confessor* that he might have leave to go in to *Normandy* to bring back *Wolnoth* and *Hacun* (the Hostages above-mentioned) had there sworn to preserve and secure (on King *Edward*'s Death) the Succession to the said Duke.

(f) Historians relate this Affair as follows—To *Harold*'s Request of going into *Normandy*, King *Edward* replied—"That he would not of himself do it, and (that he might not seem to hinder it) added—Go "whither thou wilt, and try what thou canst do; but "this I know, that thy Aim is no other than to do Mis- "chief to this *English* Nation, to thy own Disho- "nour; nor am I ignorant that Duke *William* will deny "thy Request, unless he knows that it may be much to "his own Advantage."

Harold being in *Normandy*, the Duke addressed him- self to him and said—"That King *Edward* when he "was a young Man and resided with him in *Normandy*, "did assure him upon his Faith, that if ever he came to "the Crown of *England* he would transfer the Inheri- "tance thereof to him; and if thou, *Harold*, wilt be faith- "ful to me herein, I will forthwith restore unto thee thy "Nephew *Hacun*, and when I come to be King of " *England*, thy Brother *Wolnoth* also, &c."

(f) *Tim. Dunelm.* 195.—*Ralph. de Diceto*, 481.—*Dugd. Baron.* V. 1. P. 19.

Harold considering in what Peril he then stood, and not knowing how to get himself out of the Duke's Hands, consented ; and the Duke bringing before him the Relicks of Saints, caused him to swear upon them to make Performance accordingly.

On *Harold's* return into *England*, and giving the King a Narrative of what had passed, the King replied —“ Did not I tell thee that I knew Duke *William* sufficiently, and that by this thy Journey much Mis-
“ chief would come to this Kingdom ; by this Action
“ of thine many Calamities will befall this Nation, which
“ I pray God may not happen in my Days.”

All this was transacted in the Year 1059, and such was the Promise and Oath of *Harold*. Give me leave here to observe, that King *Edward* by his Reply then, about six Years before the *Invasion*, appears to have entertained no good Opinion of the Duke, much less any Intention or Thought of nominating or appointing him his Successor. He looked upon him (as by sad Experience he had found him) to be an artful, crafty, scheming Prince, who had been the Cause of most of the Troubles and Rebellions in his Reign ; one who had underhand encouraged, fomented and supported Factions and Parties by Treachery and Dissimulation ; a Talent peculiar to that Duke so many Ages past, and a Talent for which his Countrymen, the *French*, are in the present Age no ways his Inferiors.

These

These Arts proved indeed his prevailing Plea, and what more successful one can any ambitious, faithless Invader have or hope for? He had raised such unhappy Differences, such Heat and Fury of Parties, that *Edward*, though a mild and most merciful Prince, the best of Kings and Men, canonized for a Saint, could not temperate or compose; and these Divisions conduced chiefly to the placing the Crown on his Head; for a Kingdom, like a private House, divided against itself cannot possibly stand.

When Earl *Godwyne* with three of his Sons, *Swane*, *Tofti* and *Gyrth*, fled out of *England* in 1051, to avoid the Punishment merited by their Rebellion, they found an immediate Sanctuary at the Court of *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, one of whose Daughters the *Norman* Duke had married; and the irreconcilable Hatred that was between the said *Tofti* Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Brother *Harold*, was owing to and kept up by the said Arts.

On the Death of King *Edward* (g), *Tofti* was resident in the Court of *Baldwin*, waiting impatiently to satiate his Revenge; and as soon as he heard that his Brother *Harold* was crowned King, sailed directly from *Flanders* with forty Ships well manned and armed for *Scotland*; where he was joined (as was concerted) by *Harold Harfager* King of *Norway*; the *Norwegians* and *Danes* being both disgusted, who would have had the Crown of

(g) *Sax. Chron.* P. 172.—*Dugd. Baron.* V. 1. P. 20.

England for *Swain* then King of *Denmark*, who claimed from *Hardicnute*, the *Danish* King of *England*.

The *Saxon Chronicle* relates, that Earl *Tosti* sailed to the River *Humber* with sixty Ships, and was joined by the King of *Norway* with three hundred, and landing their Forces, came to an Engagement near *York* with the Earls *Edwin* and *Morcar* (*Harold's* Generals); who being defeated, *Harold* raised all the Power he suddenly could, and marching Northwards, at *Stanford-Bridge* in *Yorkshire*, on the River *Darwent*, after a sharp Conflict, (wherein Earl *Tosti* and the King of *Norway* were slain) obtained a compleat Victory.

This Northern Expedition and Diversion proved fatal to him; his Army and his Fleet being both drawn so far from the South Parts of *England*, and the Sea between *England* and *Normandy* being left open and unguarded, the *Norman* Fleet and Army had now nothing to fear, there were no Forces at hand to oppose them, either in their Passage over Sea or on their Landing.

No Wonder then, that this favourable, hoped for, and long plotted Opportunity was immediately embraced; the *Norman* Duke set Sail directly from *St. Valery*, a Port of *Normandy*, with three hundred Ships (as some say) but with nine hundred, or three thousand (as others) Ships and Transports; the certain Number does not appear, but it much exceeded three hundred, as we may justly conclude from the Body of the Duke's Forces, sixty thousand Men Horse and Foot. And in the Book
of

of *Domesday*, we find that the Port of *Dyver* (b), the chief of the *Cinque Ports*, was after this charged and obliged to maintain for it's Part twenty Ships armed with twenty-one Men; which Ships were upon any *Invasion* of an *Enemy*, to be ready at all Times to oppose them; a Proof that these Ships could not be of any great Bulk or Burthen by the Number of their Men.

The *British* Channel, with all it's Coast, being thus unguarded, he landed his Forces safely and peaceably at *Pevensey*, a Port near *Hastings* in *Suffex*, on *St. Michael's Day*, *September 29, 1066*, and entered the Kingdom, as easily as one may enter into a private House, when the Doors are all left open. And on *Saturday, October 14*, following, was the decisive Battle fought near *Hastings*, wherein the *Norman* Duke became Conqueror. All History agrees, that *Harold* behaved in every Respect, as a truly valiant Commander, and lost his Life and Crown with great Honour and Glory in the Field of Battle, and in the Defence of his Country.

It will be foreign to my Purpose to enter into any more Particulars of that fatal Day, but I cannot forbear observing, that this Battle was fought with great Disadvantages on the Part of *Harold*. It is probable, that he had not any certain Intelligence, that the Duke was landed, till the second or third of *October*, being then in *Yorkshire*, and distant above two hundred Miles from the Field of Battle. How harassed then must we suppose his Army (or the veteran Part of it) to have been after so

h. A.

(b) *Lambard's Peramb. of Kent*, P. 118.

C

long,

long, so fatiguing and expeditious a March, and in such a Season of the Year? And how lessened also by the so late Engagement at *Stanford-Bridge*?

Whereas the Conqueror's Forces were in the highest Spirits by their safe Landing, Ease and Refreshment after it; he had a sufficient Time to choose a proper Place and Ground for the Field of Battle, and had formed his Army agreeably, in an approved, and in the most advantageous Manner.

What I have hitherto mentioned, is as a *Preamble* to what I have chief in View, my particular End and Design in this Paper, which is to represent the melancholy Effects, the dreadful Consequences of this *Invasion and Conquest* to the *English* Nation at that Time; which I shall prove to have been no less than an absolute, total Deprivation of every *English* Lord, Gentleman and Freeholder, not only of those who were true and faithful to their King and Country, but of all others without any Distinction (excepting some few who appeared in Arms for the Invader) who were ejected out of their Lordships and Freehold Lands, their ancient Tenures and Inheritances, deprived of all their Liberties and Properties, and subjected to the arbitrary Will and Power of a tyrannical Invader, reduced to a State of servile Subjection, a State more dreadful than Death itself, a State that must be at all Times the Consequence of a *French* Invasion attended with Conquest.

And

long

And to maintain what I have here asserted, I shall produce a flagrant Example, and an unquestionable Proof, in one of the largest Counties in England, wherein I have had my Residence many Years, of the State and ancient Tenures of which, by my Searches into Antiquity, I have gained some particular Knowledge.

My great Proof and Voucher shall be *Domesday Book*, a Manuscript whose very Name bespeaks the strictest Truth, and Authority not to be doubted of; but as there may be many Persons who are not acquainted with or perhaps who never heard of this Book, it will not be improper to give some Account of it.

Domesday Book is a grand Survey of every County (excepting those of *Westmoreland*, *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*) in England, and of every Hundred, *Wapentath*, &c. and the Towns and Manors, the Lands Arable and Pasture, &c. therein; with the Names of the Lords, Number of Freemen, Sockmen, Villains, &c. belonging to every Town and Manor. It was begun about the fifthteenth Year of the Conqueror's Reign, 1085, and finished in his twentieth Year, 1086, and is now in the Custody of the Vice-Chamberlain of his Majesty's Exchequer. It was made at the Command of the Conqueror, by a Verdict or Presentment of Jurors, consisting of certain Persons sworn in every Hundred, &c. wherein they lived, before Commissioners appointed by him, who were for the most part *Norman* Lords, or Persons of great Authority at Court.

These following were Commissioners in several Counties to examine into these Juries, and to take their Verdicts—*Remigius* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Walter Giffard* Earl of *Buckingham*, *Henry Ferrers* Earl of *Derby*, and *Adam* Brother to *Eudo*, Steward of the Household to the Conqueror, and it is probable they were also Commissioners for the County of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Buckingham*, and *Eudo* Brother of *Adam*, having considerable Lordships therein.

In this Survey is first set down an Account of the Lordships that the Conqueror held, after him of those of his *Norman* Lords and Followers; their Names and Order as they stand therein, I shall exactly follow, and make some Remarks thereon, shewing what they possessed in the County of *Norfolk*.

1. *Willm Rex.*—*William* the King, he had about two hundred Lordships in several Towns—most of which were royal Demesns in King *Edward's* Reign; or the Lordships of King *Harold*, and of Earl *Gyrthe* his Brother, also of certain Freemen and Gentlemen who were ejected out of them. It is remarkable that though *Harold* is frequently mentioned, as is his Brother *Gyrthe*, yet no Title of Honour is allowed them but the bare Mention of their Names.

2. *Epc. Baiocensis.*—This is *Odo* Bishop of *Baieux* in *Normandy*, half Brother to the Conqueror, made by him

* In *Suffolk* *Gyrthe* was Lord of *Shotley*, in King *Edward's* Reign, and is there styled Comes Guert.

Earl of Kent, he held about twenty-two Lordships, of which *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (who held them as his own Inheritance and a Lay Fee) was deprived.

3. *Com. de Mauriti*.—This was *Robert* Earl of *Morton* in *Normandy*, and created Earl of *Cornwall* in *England* by the Conqueror, being his half Brother, and held two Lordships by Grant of the Conqueror.

4. *Com. Alanus*.—*Alan* Earl of *Britain* in *France*, and of *Richmond* in *England*, who married a Daughter of the Conqueror, he had about eighty Manors, out of which several *English* Lords, Gentlemen and Freeholders had been ejected.

5. *Com. Eustachi*.—*Eustace* Earl of *Bologne* in *Normandy*, and had six Lordships, out of which the *English* had been ejected.

6. *Com. Hugo*.—*Hugh de Abrincis*, a *Norman*, the Conqueror's Sister's Son, made Earl of *Chester*, and had twelve, out of which *English* Lords &c. had been ejected.

7. *Com. Robert Muller*, a *Norman*, had a Grant of the Honour of *Eye* in *Suffolk* in a Charter of the Conqueror to *St. Martin's College* in *London*, he signed *Princeps*, and next to the Earls, he had a Grant of twenty-six, of which the *English* were deprived.

8. *Will^o de Warren*, a *Norman* Lord, Earl of *Warren*, and made Earl of *Surry* in *England*, he possessed about an hundred and forty, of which the *English* Lords, Gentlemen and Freeholders were deprived.

9. *Reg. Bigor*, a *Norman* Baron, Ancestor to the Earls of *Norfolk*, had a Grant of about two hundred, possessed before by the *English*.

10. *Will^o*

1101
1066
35. 37

10. *Will^o Epc^o—William de Beaufor, a Norman* and at that Time Bishop of *Thesford*, had of the Gift of the Conqueror thirty Lordships to be held as a Lay Fee, lately enjoyed by the *English*, and the Bishop had seized on and invaded several Parcels of Lands which they possessed.

11. *Ost^o Epc^o—*There were two of this Name, one Bishop of *Salisbury*, the other of *Exeter*, both *Normans*; this I take to be the Bishop of *Exeter*, Brother to *William Fitz-Osbern* or *Ost*, Earl of *Heresford*, and had five Lordships, held by Freemen who were ejected.

12. *Godric^o Dapifer—*Godric, the Conqueror's Stewer, a *Norman*, had forty-two, out of which many Gentlemen or Freemen were expelled.

13. *Hermer^o de Ferr^o—Hermers de Ferrers, a Norman*, related (as I take it) to *Henry de Ferrers*, Earl of *Derby*, held twenty-five, &c.

14. *Abb. de S^te. E^d—*that is, the Abbot of *St. Edmund's Bury*, but as those Lordships which he held belonged to his Monastery in King *Edward's* Time, I pass them by.

15. *Abb. de Eli^e—*the Abbot of *Ely's* also belonged to his Abbey.

16. *Abb. Sci. B. The Abbot of St. Benedict's of Ramsey*, held by the same Tenure.

17. *Abb. de Hulme—*The Abbot of *Holme* in *Norfolk*, by the same.

18. *Scs. Stephan^o—*That is, the Abbey of *St. Stephen's* at *Caen* in *Normandy*, had the Lordship of *Well* by *Geyton*, given by the Conqueror, of which *Sigand* was deprived.

19. *Will^o*

19. *Willm de Escot*—Called also *William de Scobies*, a Norman, held about forty.

20. *Radulf de Bellofago*—*Ralph de Beaufee*, a Norman, probably related to *William Bishop of Evesford* above mentioned, held about forty-six.

21. *Rainald Fili Icomis*—*Rainald Fitz-Ivo*, a Norman, held about forty-five.

22. *Radulf de Toenio*—*Ralph Lord Tony*, a Norman, Standard Bearer of Normandy, about twenty.

23. *Hugo de Monteforti*—*Hugo de Montford*, a Norman, and Assistant Justiciary with *Odo Bishop of Bayeux* and *William Fitz-Osbert* the Earl of Hereford in England, had about nineteen.

24. *Eudo Dapifer*—*Eudo the Sower*, or Steward of the Conqueror's Household, a Norman, fourth Son of *Hubert de Rie*, had ten.

25. *Walter Giffard*—*Walter Giffard*, a Norman, who was made Earl of Buckingham, had twenty-eight.

26. *Rog^o Pictaviensis*—*Roger of Poitiers* (third Son of *Rog^o de Montgomery*, a Norman, made Earl of Shrewsbury) had ten, and was made Earl of Lancaster.

27. *Willelmus de Tancarville*, Earl of Artois in France, had two.

28. *Rad. de Limes*—*Ralph de Limes*, a Norman Baron, had two.

29. *Eudo Fitz-Spirin*—*Eudo Fitz-Spirin*, a Norman, had fourteen, made Lord of *Tatehall* in Lincoln.

30. *Willelmus de Bessan*—*Willelmus de Bessan*, a Noble Fleming, made Lord of *Holmes* in Yorkshire, had seven.

31. *Rad.*

31. *Rad. Bainard*—*Ralph Lord Bainard*, a Norman, had forty-six.

32. *Rannulf Riverell*—*Ranulf Peverell*, a Norman, who married the Conqueror's Concubine, had six.

33. *Robt Grenon*—a Norman, probably related to *William de Perai*, surnamed *Gernon*, Ancestor to the Earls of Northumberland, had five.

34. *Petr Waloniens*—*Peter de Valoines*, a Norman, had twenty.

35. *Robt Fili Corbution*—*Robert Fitz-Corbution*, a Norman, had seventeen.

36. *Rannulf Fr. Ilgeri*—*Ranalph*, Brother of *Ilger*, had six, he held some of the Conqueror's Lordships in *Essex*, for that King.

37. *Tekell*—*Tekeli of Britanny* in *France*, had three.

38. *Robt de Kerli*—a Norman, had four.

39. *Hunfrid Fili Albert*—*Humphrey Fitz-Albert*, a Norman, had two.

40. *Hunfrid de Bobun*—a Norman, Ancestor to the Earls of *Hereford* and *Essex*, had one.

41. *Radulf de Felgeres*—Probably the same with *Ralph* (whom *Dugdale* calls *de Felgers*), who married a Daughter of *Richard Fitz-Gilbert* (Son of the Earl of *Briou* in *Normandy*) had one.

42. *Gislebr Fili Richeri*—*Gilbert Fitz-Richard*, Son of *Crispin*, Earl of *Briou* in *Normandy*, this *Gilbert* was Lord of *Tunbridge* in *Kent*, and Ancestor to the Earls of *Clare*, and had one Lordship.

43. *Roger de Ramis*—a Norman, had five, also some in *Essex*.

44. *Uuihell*

44. *Uuikell' Prbr.*—*Wikelis* the Priest, had one.
45. *Colebt' Pr.*—*Colburn* the Priest, who officiated probably in the Conqueror's Army, and came with him into *England*, had no Lordship here; it is only said that he had built a Church dedicated to *St. Nicholas* (1), and would (if the King pleased) endow it with twenty Acres valued at two Shillings *per Ann.* and that he sung Mass and the Psalter there for the King once in every Week.
46. *Edmund' Fili' Pagani.*—*Edmund Fitz-Payn*, a Norman, had one in King *Edward's* Time, which at the Survey was held by *Reynald*, a Norman Priest, who had married the Daughter of *Fitz-Payn*.
47. *Isaac.*—He had six.
48. *Touu'*—*Tove*, had eight.
49. *Job' Nepos Walerani.*—*John*, Grandson or Nephew of *Waleran*, had eight.
50. *Rog' Fili' Renardi.*—*Roger Fitz-Renard*, a Norman, had thirteen.
51. *Berner' Arbalistar.*—*Berner*, an Officer of the Cross-Bowmen, had ten Lordships.
52. *Gillebt' Arbalistar.*—*Gilbert* the Cross-Bowman, had four.
53. *Radulf' Arbalistar.*—*Ralph* the Cross-Bowman, had one.
54. *Robt' Arbalistar.*—*Robert* the Cross-Bowman, had one.
- They were chief Officers of the Cross-Bowmen, who shot Stones and Darts out of their Bows.
55. *Radbell' Artifex.*—*Rabell* the Artificer, who had
- (1) In the Hundred of Humbleyard.

the Command (as an Engineer) of the Engines or Brakes, and the Direction of them at the battering of Walls, &c. had two.

56. *Hagon Prepositus Regis*—*Hacon* was the King's Reeve or Bailiff, one that managed his Lands and Lordships for him, and held five Lordships.

57. *Radulf^o Fili^o Hagonis*—*Ralph* Son of *Hagon*, had three.

58. *Ulchetell^o*—*Ulchetel* had three Lordships, one of which was in *Larling*, this he held in the Time of King *Edward*, and as he enjoyed this, and two more, out of which certain *English* Freemen were expelled, it may be justly supposed that he was in Arms against *Harold*, and of the Conqueror's Party.

59. *Alured^o*—*Alfred*, probably an *Englishman*, who had one Lordship granted him by the Conqueror for his Services.

60. *Aldit*.—He had the Grant of one Lordship for his Services, and probably was an *Englishman*.

61. *Godwin^o Halden^o*—*Godwin Haldan* (a *Dane* as I take it) held one Lordship in King *Edward's* Time, and at the Survey, and had a Grant of three others, for his Services to the Conqueror.

62. *Starcolf^o*—*Starcolf*, held in King *Edward's* Time a little Lordship, and at the Survey, valued at ten Shillings per Ann. and for his Services had the Grant of another of the same Value.

63. *Edric^o Accipitar^o*—*Edric*, the Falconer, had a small Lordship valued at two Shillings per Ann. he seems to have been a *Dane*.

64. Contains an Account of certain Lands or small Tenures

Tenures held by *English* Freeman, which were committed to the Care of *Algar*, by King *William*, and farmed by *Algar*.

65. Contains an Account of other *English* Freeman's Lands and small Tenures, who were ejected, and those Lands being granted to several of the Conqueror's Dependants.

66. Contains an Account of the Invasions made by several *Norman* Chiefs, depriving many *English* Freeholders of their Lands without any Grant from the Conqueror, by their own arbitrary Power.

Such is the Account from the Conqueror's own Book and Survey, that all the *English* Nobility, Gentry and Freeholders of the County of *Norfolk* were deprived of their Lordships and Lands of Inheritance, except four *Englishmen* or *Daners*, who held each of them a Lordship (as I have above observed) under King *Edward*, and were permitted by the Conqueror to keep them, they being of his Party, and appearing in Arms against King *Harold*. It is not to be doubted but that there were some of the *English* who were Traitors to their King, and some, it is to be feared, there will be in all Times and Ages, (even to the Best of Kings) Men of desperate Fortunes, Consciences and Principles; and we are told that one *English* Earl *Cara* was killed by his own People for his Adherence to Duke *William* (k), and not arming against him with his *English* Friends and Followers. One Observation more may be proper in this Place, that the Names of the greatest Part of those that were expelled

are

(k) Brady, Vol. 1. P. 192.

are also mentioned.—But perhaps it may be objected, that there are some Instances (though but few) of *Englishmen* who held Freehold Lands in the Reign of King *Edward*, and also at the Survey, who do not appear to have been in the Interest of the Conqueror.

(1) In *Foulden*, a Lordship belonging to *William Earl Warren*, we find that thirty-two Freemen held six Carucates of Land in King *Edward's* Time, and held them at the Survey under the said *William*; and thirty-two Freemen held Lands in the same Manner in *Didlington*. In these Instances we are to observe, that these Freemen held their Lands freely, absolutely without any Terms or Conditions, and as in Capite under King *Edward*, whereas it appears that at the Survey their Lands had been granted to *William Earl Warren*, who held them in Capite by military Tenure, and though they possessed them, it was under him, by his Permission and Licence, which no doubt they had covenanted, and submitted to hold on certain Payments and Services, as Quit-rents, Reliefs, &c. as the said Earl thought proper, whose sole Right and Fee it manifestly appears to be. This made a Gentleman well read in the valuable Book of *Domesday* to assert (m), “ That at the Time of making the Survey there was no Frank Free Land, that is, “ Land holden without Performance of any Service, such “ as we now call most of our Freeholds, unless some “ small Parcels that belonged to some Parish Churches.”

(1) *Tre. Will. de Warennia—In Fugalduna tenuer. xxxiiii. lib. boes vi car. tte. et adhuc tenent sub Will.—Domesday Lib.* (m) *Dr. Brady, V. 1. P. 25. in the Preface.*

I am fully perswaded, that the Nobility, Gentry and Freeholders in every County in England, met with the same cruel Treatment and Oppression with those of the County of *Norfolk*; even *Kent* that boasted so much of its Privileges, acquired partly by a weak Stratagem, but in reality, chiefly by a servile Submission to the Conqueror, and retained by so doing their ancient Custom and Privilege of Gavelkind, which was no other than a mean Sotage Tenure; but their Lordships and Freehold Lands were granted to the *Normans*; and *Odo* Bishop of *Baieux*, made Earl of *Kent* by the Conqueror, had (as Historians relate) no less than an hundred and eighty-four Lordships for his Part, granted to him in the said County. Gavelkind was such a mean, indifferent Tenure, and so generally disliked, that most of the Nobility, Gentry, &c. of *Kent* petitioned in the Reigns of *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* that their Lands might be freed from it, and it was granted them by Parliament.

It will be of Service here to remark, that a great Distinction is to be made and observed, between *Liber Homo*, a Freeman, and *Homo*: the first we find frequently mentioned in the Survey to hold Lands in his own Right, Lands of Inheritance, whereas *Homo* implies no more than a Tenant, or a Man that farmed under a Superior, or his Lord, at the Survey.

After this I need not (I am perswaded) add any thing relating to the State of the Villains and Bordarers mentioned in the Survey, who were poor miserable Labourers under the *Norman* Lords; who performed daily

Services

Services in the Field, in ploughing, manuring of their Lands, &c. for little more than Meat and Drink, and that of a most coarse and ordinary Kind; insomuch that the meanest Labourers in these Times, are Gentlemen, in respect of those; and this they submitted to, rather than be absolute Slaves, or Servi, who at the Pleasure of their *Norman* Lords could be sold with their Wives and Children, and all that belonged to them (*cum totâ sequela*) to any Purchaser, as a Beast in a Market or a Fair, and were in a worse State than the *Gibeonites* who were Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Waters only for the House of God.

But not only Lords, Gentlemen, and Freemen of the *English* were thus deprived, but also Ladies and Gentlewomen, &c. who cannot be supposed to have been in Arms (in their own Persons) against the *Norman* Duke.

Ailida, styled (*Libera Femina*) a Free Woman, was deprived of her Lordships in *Fincham*, *Shouldham*, *Barton*, *Boughton*, *Bradenham*, *Merton*, &c. which were all granted to *Ralph Baynard*, a *Norman* Lord.

Alveva, a Free Woman, was deprived of her Lordships of *Grimston*, *Feltwell*, *Wilton*, &c. and they were granted to *William Earl Warren*.

Aldreda, a Free Woman, of her Lordship of *Watton*, which was granted to *Roger Bigot*.

Ulweruna, a Free Woman, of her Lordships in *Hillington* and *Grimston*, and granted to *Berner Arbathstar*.

Many

Many more Instances might be brought; but I cannot pass by a moving one of a certain, poor Nun, who laid her claim to four Acres only of Land which she held, and which the Hundred of *Lothing* (now called *Clavering*) proved and witnessed she held in *Seething*, yet *Isaac* recovered and retained it by the Grant of the Conqueror.

And what is most surprising, the Clergy also met with the same Treatment: *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury* had many Lordships and Lands, held in his own private Right and in Fee-Simple in *Norfolk*: Of all which he was deprived, and also of all his spiritual Preferment, being degraded in 1070, imprisoned for Life, and died soon after (as Authors relate) starved to death.

Ailmar, or *Egelmar* Bishop of *Elmham* (or the *East-Angles*) was Lord also of several Manors in the said County, of which he was deprived, one of these was the Lordship of *Blisfeld*, and they were granted to *William de Beaufoe*, a *Norman*, who was Chaplain and Chancellor to the Conqueror, and at the Time of the Survey, Bishop of *Ipsford*, who gave the Lordship of *Blisfeld* which *Ailmar* had with his Wife to his See for ever, and was the Head of the Barony of the See of *Norwich*.

Several Abbies were ejected out of their Lordships and Freeholds, *William Earl Warren* held Lordships in *Feltwell*, *Norwold*, *Pincham*, &c. which belonged to the Abbey of *Ely*, and *Hugh de Montfort* had one in *Marham*

ham belonged to the said Monastery, which by these Means became Lay-Fees for ever.

Roger de Ramis held Lands in *Billingsford*, taken from the Abbey of *Bury*, and *Tove* had Lands which belonged to a Freeman of the Abbey of *St. Bennet*.

It is highly probable that many of the secular Clergy were also ejected their Livings and Churches; but as they held no Lordships in right of their Churches (as far as I can find) in that Age, and those Churches were meanly endowed with Lands, no wonder that we have no clear Account of them.

It was sufficient for the Conqueror's Ends and Purposes, that he granted all the Lordships or Manors to his Creatures and Followers, who by that Means being Patrons of them, would no doubt take care to have Incumbents, who were *Normans* or in their Interest, and the Book of *Domesday* testifies, that every Church was valued along with the Manor or Lordship (n).

And it worthy of our Observation, that as there was but one *Englishman* (o) living, who was a Bishop at the Death of the Conqueror, so it is most likely there were not many *English* Clergymen who had Churches at that Time.

Matthew Paris relates, that the Conqueror robbed all the Monasteries of their Gold and Silver, and spared not

(n) *Omnes Ecclesie sunt in pris. cum. Maneris.* (o) *Wolstan Bishop of Worcester.*

their

their Shrines and consecrated Chalices, so that we are not to be surprized at his Deprivation of the *English* Clergy; which was done without any Justice, but by Force and arbitrary Power; in order to place his Countrymen in their Rooms, to strengthen himself, and to establish his own Interest the better.

It is plain that the Conqueror acted in all Respects more like a *Machiavell*, a worldly Politician, than a Religious; but what can be said or pleaded in Behalf of *Alexander* the Second, the then reigning Pope, who had sent him as a Present, * a consecrated Banner, an *Agnus Dei* of Gold, with one of the Hairs of *St. Peter*, to patronize, and give a Blessing on this Invasion; in order to dethrone King *Harold*.

Was the *Roman* Pontif so early venal? Was he so well paid for his Trinkets? Was he so stanch a Pensioner as to see his Clergy thus maltreated, deprived of both their spiritual and temporal Fortunes, imprisoned and starved to Death at the Command, the Dictates of an arbitrary temporal Prince? Could he who pretends to be the Father, the Head of his Church, see it (unpitied and unregarded) as a Sharer in its Spoils, plundered of its consecrated Vessel and Shrines by prophane Hands, and robbed of its Lands and Estates, solemnly dedicated by pious Benefactors on the Altar, to particular holy and charitable Uses and Services; quite alienated for ever, conveyed and granted to Soldiers, as a Lay Fee, and so remaining to this very Day? Could Christ's domineering Vicar

* *Baker's Chron.* P. 22.—*Rapin History*, P. 140.

so many Ages past assume so much Power, as to transfer Kingdoms and depose independent Monarchs, when Christ himself had declared that he had no such Power, and that his *Kingdom was not of this World?*

Since this then was the cruel Treatment and Fate of all the *English* Nation in those Days, both of the Laity and Clergy who were subjected to the See of *Rome*; what must our Protestant Nation at this Time expect?

Believe me, the whole Thunder and Artillery of the *Vatican* (those *Bruta Fulmina*) will be pointed against it, as a Nation that is and has been, above two Centuries, by the Confession of its bitter Enemies, the Grand Bulwark of the Protestant Church and Reformation, a Nation that has so long triumphed through the Blessing of God, by it's Arms, Learning, irresistible Doctrine and Arguments, over Popery and arbitrary Power, which are near Relations, walk Hand in Hand, and at all Times support each other.

How many Banners will now be erected and consecrated at *Rome*? What a Number of *Agnus Dei*, with all the Hairs of *St. Peter's* Head and Beard be directly blessed, and sent against us? In sanguine Hopes of seeing this Nation and Church becoming a Desolation, and sitting as a Captive on the Gound, bereaved of her beloved Children, while the Children of Strangers are brought into her Sanctuaries.

I am

I am sensible that some monkish Historians have endeavoured to palliate what I have above maintained of the Conqueror's Deprivations and Expulsions; I shall therefore now consider what they have said on this Subject.

(p) *William of Poiitiers*, the Conqueror's Chaplain, asserts, "That nothing was granted to the *Normans*, "which was unjustly taken from any *Englishman*."—Surely this Author means that he had a Right by Conquest to all their Lands, otherwise he must be guilty of a most servile Flattery and a notorious glaring Falsity, and his own Master's Book of *Domesday* will rise up in Judgment against him.

(q) Another speaking of the Beginning of the Conqueror's Reign has these Words—"Neminem nisi quem non damnare iniquum foret, damnavit."—That is, he disinherited none, but such as it would have been unjust not to have disinherited. This Author has some Degree of Modesty, and knowing that his whole Reign was not to be justified, softens the Matter.

How long this Beginning was, he does not mention.—In the Space of one half Year after the Conquest, in *Lein* following, he took with him into *Normandy*, *Edgar Atbeling*, *Scigand* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Edwin* Earl of *Mercia*, *Mortcar* Earl of *Northumberland*, Earl *Waltheof*, with many other of the principal No-

(p) P. 505, &c.

(q) *Order. Vital. Lib. 4. P. 505, &c.*

bility of the *English* (though *Stigand* had submitted himself to him, and all the other Lords abovementioned) as Hostages and Pledges in a triumphant Manner, for the good Behaviour of the *English*; (r) and the *Saxon Chronicle* observes, that on his Return out of *Normandy* on *St. Nicholas's Day*, 1067, he restored to every one their Lands; which testifies that he had before this, full Possession of them.

In his third Year he gave by Charter, the County called *Richmond* in *Yorkshire*, to *Alan* Earl of *Britain*, containing above sixty-eight Knights Fees, and on this he was also Earl of *Richmond*; the Behaviour of the Conqueror and his two Vicegerents *Odo* Bishop of *Baieux* and *Fitz-Osbern* Earl of *Hereford*, is stigmatized in all History; they are accused of great Pride and Insolency, by whose Example, the Governors of Castles and Places of Strength vexed and abused the noble and middle Sort of the *English* and Natives with great Exactions, refused to hear their Complaints, and do them Right and Justice, defending by Force the *Norman* Soldiers in spoiling the *English*, and ravishing the *English* Women in the Beginning of his Reign.

(s) *Ingulphus*, who was Abbot of *Croyland* at the Time of the Conquest, and lived much at Court, relates, that by hard Usage he made the *English* submit; and *Gervase* of *Tilbury* (t) observes, that after the Conquest, when the King himself and his great Men had surveyed their

(r) P. 173.

Scaccar.

(s) *Ingul. Hist.* P. 512.

(t) *Gerv. Tilb. de Necess.*

new Acquisitions, there was a strict Enquiry made, who there were who fighting against the King, had saved themselves by Flight; from these and the Heirs of those who were slain in the Battle, all Hopes of possessing either Lands or Rents were cut off; for they esteemed it a great Favour to have the Benefit of their Lives. But such as were called and obliged to fight against King *William* and did not, if in Process of Time they could obtain the Favour of their Lords and Masters, by an humble Obedience and Obsequiousness, they might possess somewhat in their own Persons, but without Hope of Succession, their Children only enjoying it at the Will of their Lords; to whom when after they became odious, they were every where forced from their Possessions.—So that Dr. *Brady* might justly make this Challenge *—“ If any Man can shew an *English-Saxon*, that “ was either Earl or Baron, or that had any Power “ or Share in the Government, or many that had considerable Estates, that did not hold them of the *Normans*, I will confess I am mistaken.”

What a Load of Misery then must the poor distressed *English* lie under, exposed daily to the Contempt, Cruelty and Slavery of a domineering *French* Tyrant, who ruled them with a Rod of Iron? How much better must we suppose the Fate of all those to have been, who died honourably and gloriously in the Field of Battle with their Friends and Companions, their dearest Relations and their beloved Country?

Th. Clapton, P. 18.

I should

I should here come to a Conclusion, had it not been for an Objection on this Subject, first offered to the Publick (u) by a truly worthy, learned Gentleman and Antiquary of the County of *Norfolk*, Sir *Henry Spilman*, who in his *Icenia* relates, that *Edwin*, a *Dane*, coming into *England* with King *Canute*, had the Town and Lordship of *Shernbourn* (and that of *Snetesham*) in *Norfolk*, granted him by that King, who enjoyed it peaceably, till he was ejected at the Conquest in 1066, when they were bestowed on *William de Albini*, the Conqueror's Butler, and *William Earl Warren*. Upon this *Edwin* made Application to the Conqueror, and proving that he never before, at, or after the Conquest had acted any thing against him, received an Order to be restored, which the Possessors abovenamed would not comply with. But *William de Albini* granted him a Messuage, three hundred Acres of Land, with three Foldcourses in *Snetesham*, and *William Earl Warren* four hundred Acres of Land with a Messuage, with four Foldcourses as a Lordship in *Shernbourn*, to be held of him by certain Services, reserving the rest with the Advowson of the Church to himself.

This Relation was taken from a Manuscript of the Family and Pedigree of the *Sharburns* of *Sharburne*, wrote, as it seems by the Hand, about the Reign of King *Henry VIII.* formerly in the Possession of Sir *Henry Spilman*, or lent to him, and is now in the *Asbmolean Library or Museum at Oxford*, amongst the Manuscripts

(u) P. 146.

of Sir *William Dugdale*, Garter King at Arms, Fol. 57. It was in the Family of the *Sethertons*, who married the Heiress of *Sharnburn*, and the Lady *Setherton* desired *Francis Gardiner*, Esq; Alderman of *Norwich*, and Mayor in 1685, to deliver it to Sir *William*, and to acquaint him that it was her Desire it should be deposited in the Library of the Herald's Office at *London*; which Sir *William* forgot to do, and so gave it with his other Books to the *Museum* abovementioned.

I must take the Liberty of saying, that the Truth and Authority of this Manuscript is not to be depended on, and to justify myself, I shall lay before my Reader some substantial and satisfactory Reasons, taken from the Book of *Domesday*.

The Town of *Sharnburn* appears from that Book to be divided into several Tenures or Lordships.—*Odo* Bishop of *Baieux*, had one Socman who held under him five Acres, as a Part of his great Manor of *Snetesham*, held by Archbishop *Stigand*, in King *Edward's* Time, and granted afterwards to *Odo* at the Conquest.

(w) *William* Earl *Warren* had two Carucates of Land, which four Freemen held in King *Edward's* Reign, and one Freeman had forty Acres.

Berner, a Captain of the Cross-Bowmen, had a Grant of a Carucate of Land with one in Demean, and five Bordars belonged to it, out of which a Freeman had been ejected.

(w) *Lib. Domesday.*

What

What I have produced cannot be said to belong to *Edwin*, the Persons who had these Tenures both in King *Edward's* Days and at the Survey being mentioned, being small Fees, whereas *Edwin* is said to have held the whole Town.

The principal Manor or Lordship in *Sbernburn*, as the said *Domesday* Book proves, was in the Hands of sixteen Freemen in King *Edward's* Time, who held under King *Harold*, on whose Death the Conqueror gave it to *Ralph Guader* Earl of *Norfolk*, and on that Earl's Deprivation for Rebellion, it was given to *Ivo Taillebois*, who was Lord of it at the Survey, so that *Edwin* could have no Interest in this.

There was also a very small Tenure in the said Town, held by *Peter de Valoines*, a *Norman* Baron, who had invaded or seized on the Land of a Socman of *Harold*, being sixty Acres, and *William de Pertinai*, a *Norman*, held it at the Survey, under *Peter*, valued at six Shillings and eight Pence *per Ann.* and there was a Freeman who held six Acres, valued at six Pence *per Ann.* and held it under the Protection of the Lord *Peter* at the Survey.

This last Account is of great Service to prove that *Edwin* had no Interest in the Township of *Sbernburn*, either as Lord of a Manor, or as a Proprietor in any Lands. So exact is the *Domesday* Register, that not only great Lordships, but the meanest, even the least Part of a Knight's Fee, or Freehold Tenure (as *Edwin's* must have been) is there

there accounted for ; the Lords and Owners of them, both in the Time of King *Edward* and at the Survey are fairly specified ; that every one's particular Service and Duty to the King, as well as his own Right and Title might be well known, and maintained by such an undeniable Evidence and Authority.

If so little an Invasion or Incroachment could not be passed by, can any one imagine that so large a Tenure as that of *Edwin's*, who is represented to have been Lord of this Town and of *Snetesham*, could in both Places be passed by and wholly omitted ? This cannot be supposed, it being so contradictory to the great End, and the real Intent and Design of the Survey.

But the said Manuscript is also absolutely false, in the Account of *William de Albini* the King's Butler's granting to *Edwin* a certain Portion of Lands, &c. out of this Lordship of *Sbarnburn*, and that of *Snetesham*. The said *William* had plainly no Interest or Possessions in either of these Towns in the Reign of the Conqueror. *Odo* Bishop of *Baieux*, on his Conspiracy against *William Rufus*, or King *William II.* his Nephew, in 1088, forfeited his Interest in these Manors, and on his Forfeiture, that King granted them to *William de Albini*.

(x) Some Historians have been too forward to credit this Story of *Edwin*, and *Fuller* calls him *Edwin de Sbarnburn*, and tells us that—“ He traversed the Title “ of the Earl *Warren* to his Lordships, and being a

(x) *Dugd. Bar.* V. 1. P. 118—*Fuller's Worthies in Norf.*

“ *Norfolk* Man durst go to Law with the Conqueror;
 “ and question the Validity of his Donations, yea, he
 “ got the better of the Suit, and the King's Grant was
 “ adjudged void.”

The Author of the above Manuscript of *Sbarnburn* is not known; it is false in many other Particulars; some ignorant Herald to aggrandise the Family was probably the Author, and so placed *Edwin* at the Head of it; and is founded on no valuable Authority or Record, but on idle Tradition, and common Report, which increases as a Snow-ball, and makes Mountains of Mole-hills.

Thus plainly have I made it appear from all authentic History, that no less than a total Deprivation of our Lands and Possessions, Spiritual and Temporal, of our Religion, as Protestants, and of all our Liberties and Properties, must be the Consequence of a successful Invasion, which God out of his infinite Goodness and Mercy forbid. And since we all see and are sensible of the many Blessings, the great Happiness we enjoy under the best of Kings, let every true hearted and honest *Briton* pray ardently to God, who has in all Times of our greatest Troubles and Dangers shewed himself to be our Refuge, our Strength, and Deliverer; that he would grant him in Health and Wealth long to live, that he may vanquish and overcome all his Enemies; and that he would bless him and all his Royal Family.

And

And if any ambitious Neighbour should ever be so bold or daring as to invade this Nation, let all his Subjects be faithful and loyal, exert themselves to the utmost, repel Force by Force; Let no *French* Artifices or Finesses, either divide or divert us from doing our Duty, render us indifferent, or any ways abate our Zeal and Love for our King and Country; but let us Sword in Hand either die or conquer in their Defence and Preservation. Otherwise (believe me) our Fate is determined, fixed and certain; it will be like to that which *Polyphemus* complimented *Ulysses* with, when he had him safe and secure in his Den, *viz.* "That he would shew him so much Respect and Hospitality (x), as to eat up before his Face, all his Friends and Socii; and that he himself should be the last that he would devour.

*Οὐτὶν ἐγὼ πύμακτον ἰδοῦμαι μετὰ οἷς ἐτάσσεται,
Τὸς δ' ἄλλους πρόδωκεν τὸδε τοι ξεινήιον ἑταίρι.

Such a Declaration may seem savage, and too much offend a courtly, nice Ear; but *Polyphemus* acted in Character; he spoke plain Truth, though a *Cyclops*, and a *Canibal*. If he had been trained up in a certain polite Court in *Europe*, he would have softened his Declaration, and said to *Ulysses* *—*Seule Arbitre de son sort, viz.*—That he might choose either to be eat up first or last.—This grew to a Proverb and was called—*Κυκλυπος δῶρεα* —*The Present of a CYCLOPS.*

(x) *Homeri Odyss. Lib. 2.* * See the Memorial of M. D'Affry to the States General—*Gent. Mag. for March, P. 130.*

All this was so far from sinking, that it raised the Spirits and Courage of *Ulysses*, it animated him to the last Degree; and he immediately resolved to take a severe Vengeance, and forthwith put out the Eye of *Polyphemus*. And in so doing has set all Mankind a noble Example, to act like him (one of the wisest of Princes) who stands recorded in all History (many Ages past) for this his glorious and honourable Triumph.

F I N I S